

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 0695

E. O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: COMMENT ON TURKISH PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE CYPRIOT STATE

REF: A. NICOSIA 0623

B. NICOSIA 0661

1. SUMMARY: DENKTASH'S PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE CYPRIOT STATE
(TEXT REF A) ENVOSION ESTABLISHMENT OF CONFEDERATION, WITH
ALL REAL POWER RESERVED SEPARATELY TO ISLAND'S
TWO COMMUNITIES. IN AREAS WHERE COMMUNITIES WOULD
COOPERATE, IMPLICATION IS THAT THIS WOULD BE BASED ON
50-50 REPRESENTATION, WITH EITHER SIDE RETAINING VETO
RIGHT OVER FOREIGN AFFAIRS. DEMAND FOR RETENTION OF 1960
GUARANTEES IN TOTO, WHILE UNDERSTANDABLE FROM TURK POINT
OF VIEW, WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR GREEKS TO ACCEPT. OTHER
PROPOSALS ARE ANODYNE AND SHOULD PRESENT NO DIFFICULTIES
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ASSUMING TALKS RESUME. END SUMMARY.

2. TURKS' FIRST PRINCIPLE, THAT "CYPRUS IS AN INDEPENDENT AND SECULAR STATE", SHOULD PROVE ACCEPTABLE TO GREEK CYPRIOTS DEPENDING ON INTERPRETATION. SECULAR ("")-8(" IN TURKISH LANGUAGE VERSION) IS LONG-TERM ATATURK PHRASE WHICH, PRESUMABLY, WOULD NOT PREVENT ARCHBISHOP FROM CONTINUING PLAY POLITICAL ROLE. IF, HOWEVER, TURKS INTERPRET "LAIK" TO MEAN THAT NO ECCLESIASTICAL PERSON MAY HOLD POLITICAL OFFICE, IT COULD PROVE CONTENTIOUS. UNFORTUNATELY, RECENT DENKTASH STATEMENTS HAVE TENDED TOWARD LATTER INTERPRETATION.

3. PRINCIPLE TWO'S ADVOCACY OF CONSTITUTION FOR BICOMMUNAL AND FEDERAL STATE PRESENTS NO DIFFICULTIES. HOWEVER, INSISTENCE ON "BIREGIONAL FEDERATION", CENTRAL ISSUE IN BACKSTAGE PROBING BETWEEN THE PARTIES, WHILE POSSIBLY PREMATURE AT THIS TIME, IS CONSISTENT WITH PREVIOUSLY ARTICULATED TURKISH POSITION. GREEKS WILL NOT GIVE IN ON THIS BEFORE SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS EVEN BEGIN.

4. PRINCIPLE THREE'S GENERAL BAN ON DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MEMBERS OF GREEK AND TURKISH COMMUNITIES IS ANODYNE; BUT CASTING THIS IN TERMS OF MEMBERS OF "TURKISH AND GREEK FEDERATED STATES" IS UNDOUBTEDLY UNACCEPTABLE TO GREEK SIDE. ALSO, FINAL PHRASE, WHICH SEEKS TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR EITHER COMMUNITY TO "OVERPOWER" THE OTHER ECONOMICALLY OR POLITICALLY, WOULD SEEM TO IMPLY CONSIDERABLE ETHNIC SEPARATION IN BOTH FIELDS.

5. THIS IMPLICATION FURTHER STRENGTHENED BY PRINCIPLE FOUR, WHICH STATES THAT "ONLY THOSE POWERS NECESSARY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERATION SHALL BE LEFT TO THE FEDERAL STATE.... ALL OTHER POWERS SHALL BE VESTED IN THE FEDERATED STATES." THIS IS CLEAR CALL FOR CONFEDERATION, NOT FEDERATION. SPEAKING TO REPORTERS, DENKTASH DID NOT DENY INTENT (NICOSIA 0661).

6. PRINCIPLE FIVE' INSISTENCE ON JOINT INSTITUTIONS BEING ORGANIZED ON AN EQUALITY BASIS, GIVEN RECENT GO-AROUND ON NICOSIA AIRPORT, WOULD SEEM INDICATE THAT THE TURKS WILL INSIST ON 50-50 REPRESENTATION ON ALL SUCH

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BODIES. THIS PROPORTION IS UNACCEPTABLE TO GREEK CYPRIOTS.

7. ALSO UNACCEPTABLE IS THE IMPLICATION IN PRINCIPLE SIX THAT EITHER OF THE FEDERATED STATES WOULD HAVE A VETO OVER FOREIGN AFFAIRS WHENEVER THESE IMPIINGED UPON THE INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITY. VETO RIGHT WAS ONE OF DISPUTES WHICH LED TO THE BREAKDOWN OF THE 1960 CONSTITUTION.

8. PRINCIPLES SEVEN THROUGH TEN WOULD APPEAR TO PRESENT NO INSURMOUNTABLE DIFFICULTIES, THOUGH THE IMPLICATION IN PRINCIPLE TEN THAT THE GOC IS ILLEGAL, SINCE IT WILL BE SUPERCEDED BY A "TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT", WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR GREEK CYPRIOTS TO ACCEPT.

9. DENKTASH'S INSISTENCE IN PRINCIPLE ELEVEN ON RETAINING THE GUARANTEES PROVIDED BY THE 1960 AGREEMENTS WAS PROBABLY AN UNAVOIDABLE CLAIM FOR ANY TURKISH LEADER TO MAKE AT THIS TIME. NEVERTHELESS, THE GREEK SIDE STRONGLY RESENTS THESE GUARANTEES, WHICH LED TO THE TURKISH INVASION, AND WILL SEEK TO WEAKEN THEM THROUGH EXPANDING NUMBER OF GUARANTOR POWERS, PERHAPS TRYING TO INVOLVE UNSC PERMANENT MEMBERS.

10. IN SUM, DENKTASH'S PAPER IS A MAXIMUM DOCUMENT, THOUGH CAREFULLY COUCHED IN TERMS WHICH LEAVE CONSIDERABLE ROOM FOR NEGOTIATION ON PERIPHERAL ISSUES. ON CENTRAL THEME, TURKS HAVE EMPHASIZED YET AGAIN THEIR INSISTENCE ON A BIREGIONAL FEDERATION, WITH AN EXTREMELY WEAK CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, AND NEAR TOTAL SEPARATION OF ISLAND'S TWO COMMUNITIES.
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